

SOCIAL ACTION NEWSLETTER

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FEDERAL COUNCIL REVIEWS LIQUOR SITUATION IN U.S.

Pastors and church leaders seeking the latest and best information on the liquor situation in the U.S. and in the several states should send for Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, October 18, 1941* issue. This unusually reliable publication reviews the nation's liquor problem in full. Holding that the liquor question is a live issue and that the magnitude of the problem is causing much concern, the bulletin summarizes the results of some 600 local option elections held in 1940. Figures on per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages show that in many states drinking is reaching and surpassing pre-prohibition levels. Consumption of spirits, wine, and beer in New Jersey is the highest in the nation (22.77 gallons per capita). Then follows Nevada (22.60), New York (21.80), Michigan (21.60), Maryland (21.165), District of Columbia (20.99) and Illinois (20.84). Michigan leads in consumption of beer (20.42 gallons per capita), followed by New Jersey (19.95), New York (19.72), Maryland (19.26), and Illinois (18.62).

*10 cents from Federal Council of Churches,
297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

PLAN NOW FOR RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

For 19 years the church of the nation, under the leadership of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, have observed the second Sunday in February as Race Relations Sunday. Recently the whole month of February has been designated Brotherhood Month. The Department of Race Relations, under the leadership of Dr. George E. Haynes and Miss Katherine Gardner, has planned a nationwide observance of Race Relations Sunday and Brotherhood Month for February 1942 of unusual importance. Under present world conditions the spirit of brotherhood is badly in need of reinforcement. In addition to the annual message on inter-racial brotherhood, program materials have been prepared suitable for use by children, young people, and adults. A postcard addressed to Dr. Haynes at the Federal Council offices, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City will bring samples and prices. Send for your samples today.

FEDERAL COUNCIL TO PLAN FOR POST-WAR WORLD

Announcement is made by Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk and Dr. Bradford Abernethy, secretaries of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches that a National Study Conference on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace will be held at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, May 3-5, 1942. The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, recently organized by the Federal Council will sponsor the conference. Set up within the Department of International Justice and Goodwill under the chairmanship of Mr. John Foster Dulles, well known authority and writer on international relations, the Commission has called Dr. Bradford Abernethy, former Baptist student counselor at the University of Missouri, to carry responsibility with Dr. Van Kirk. The purpose of the Commission is to make a thorough study of the bases of a just and durable peace and to prepare the minds of the people of the churches of the United States for a peace based upon permanency and justice. A national conference on the international situation held in Philadelphia in February 1940, just prior to the all-out attack on France laid the foundation for a policy which has had much to do with holding the churches of the United States steady during the past months of international tension and fear.

The president or presiding officer of the convention or synod of each communion will be asked to appoint representatives, the number allotted to each to be based proportional to the numerical strength of the body. The conference will not attempt to speak officially for the communions represented or officially for the Federal Council, but will rather address itself to the problems confronting the Christian people of America and will present its findings as the conclusions of those present. It is expected that the statements of the various sections will serve as study materials for church groups interested in international relations and world peace.

Dr. Wm. A. Shullenberger, president of the International Convention, will be asked to appoint Disciples of Christ representatives. At the 1940 conference our allotted representation was 15, but since a number of persons from our churches were eager to attend it was increased to 20.

"This is just a word of appreciation for Social Action Newsletter. It is one of the finest little bulletins that comes to my desk. It contains just the things I want to know and that can't be found in the larger magazines."

L. H. Camp, Huron, S.D.

CRIME TRENDS UPWARDS IN 1941, SAYS FBI

On October 24, the Federal Bureau of Investigation released figures showing a decided upward trend in crime during the first six months of 1941 as compared with the same period of 1940. An encouraging note is the fact that figures for the second quarter showed conditions to be generally more favorable than in the preceding three months.

The number of murders from January to June 1941 increased 76% over the same period in 1940; criminal assault, 3.6%; aggravated assault, 2.6%, and negligent manslaughter 1.3%. Decreases were noted in cases of robbery, burglary, and larceny. "In other words," said FBI officials, "crimes against the person have increased, whereas offenses against property, with the exception of auto thefts, have decreased."

Another breakdown of figures shows that 19-year-olds were the leading offenders, accounting for 12,409 out of 313,204 arrests. Next came the 21-year-olds, then the 18, 20, and 22-year-olds. This high rate of crime among young people has direct relation to the fact that 17 million children and young people have no formal religious training in the United States. It reflects somewhat more indirectly the fact that there are 60 million persons in the U.S. who have no religious connection whatever. The fact that 60 million out of 132 million people confess no religious faith whatever means that out of every 13 persons who pass our church doors, some 6 are frankly pagan in their religious outlook. Many of them once had some religious attachment, either of their own or through their families. Today they walk the streets with no church relationship of any kind.

FBI figures also show that with few exceptions the average city with more than 100,000 population has more crime per unit of population than cities of smaller population.

BERLIN PRIEST PRAYS FOR JEWS AND IS IMPRISONED

On November 8, 1941 Associated Press carried a story under a Berlin date-line reporting that the Very Reverend Bernhard Lichtenberg, dean of St. Hedwig's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Berlin had been arrested by German secret police and imprisoned in Ploetzensee prison. The story was credited to "reliable sources." According to this story, he had been under arrest about two weeks, charged, among other things, with having offered prayers for Jews, against whom Nazi repressive measures have recently been renewed. It is charged also that he had publicly supported in his sermons the criticisms against the Nazi regime made by the Most Reverend Count Glemens August von Galen, bishop of Muenster, who since 1934 has been an unsparing critic of the Nazis. As recently as September Bishop Galen denounced what he declared was the killing of persons deemed "unworthy to live" because they were "unproductive." In his sermon, later circulated by chain letters, he said that "according to reliable information lists are now being made up in sanitariums and asylums in the province of Westphalia of.... patients who are so-called 'unproductive countrymen' who are to be taken away and in a short time deprived of their lives."

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS OPPOSE GOVERNMENT CAMPS

From the beginning of the Selective Service Act some sentiment has existed to have the government set up a series of work camps to which conscientious objectors could be assigned for "work of national importance under civilian directions." Among the arguments for such camps are the fact that many conscientious objectors are without funds with which to pay their expenses in the Civilian Public Service Camps, that since these men are doing work of national importance they should receive the same pay, support and allowances as men in the armed services, and that inability to pay one's own way in Civilian Public Service Camps makes the individual a subject of charity.

In order to test the sentiment of conscientious objectors who are in camp and who are presumed to have the best knowledge of what conscientious objectors desire in the matter, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors made a survey of the camps in October. In camps operated by the American Friends Service Committee 388 men voted against any sort of government support and 19 for government support. In the Mennonite camps the vote was 422 against government support, 2 for government support. In camps operated by the Church of the Brethren 177 voted against government support, 15 for government support, and 40 for government support provided there is no change in camp supervision and direction. The total vote of all camps was 36 for government support, 40 for such support provided no change is made in camp supervision, and 987 against any sort of government support.

The 36 men who desire government support presumably would be willing to be assigned to camps under government supervision regardless of the change in policy of camp management. The 40 who would accept government support provided there is no such change in supervision overlook the fact that General Hershey, administrator of the Selective Service Act, has already stated that the government is willing to take over the entire conscientious objector project but that under such conditions the present policies would not prevail. The camps under the present religious administration have a definite religious atmosphere. Campers are regarded as brothers living in a family relationship. Discipline is not imposed from above, but grows out of the group itself. Unselfishness, community living, and Christian service are definitely stressed. Almost without exception the men assigned to camp, after the first few days, begin to understand the policy and program of camp life and come to regard it highly.

Under government supervision the camps would be operated as secular agencies, in something of the same fashion as CCC camps. Religious values would be subordinated to the work project and many of the finer spiritual aspects of camp life would completely disappear. It is questionable whether conscientious objection to war which arises out of religious training and belief could survive in such an atmosphere. Even if it could, the church would be faced with the inconsistency of permitting men of high Christian conscience to be placed under secular, and perhaps unsympathetic control.

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The "Closed Shop" and the Public

The crisis in the coal industry may be settled before this issue reaches our readers. In any case it brings once more to the fore the issue of the closed shop and sharpens the demand for further regulation of labor unions. This is a time when clear thinking, factually based, is needed.

We have discussed recently the practices of certain labor unions and labor leaders which call for restraint by law or by the courts.¹ Attention is now focused on the exercise of labor power which is of a "regular" and legal sort, but which many people believe menaces public welfare in a time of national crisis. In particular, the demand for what is commonly called the closed shop, long a bone of contention, seems to many people antisocial and unwarranted.

At the outset it should be noted that the term "closed shop," in strictest usage, designates a pattern of labor relations in which the employer is permitted by the labor contract with the union to hire only workers who are already members of the union. It is thus technically distinguished from the term "union shop," which designates an establishment in which the employer is free to hire persons outside union ranks but in which all workers hired must become members of the union or be discharged. In the labor union vocabulary the term "closed shop" does not commonly occur. In the present discussion, however, the term "closed shop" will be used, as it is in common parlance, to designate any arrangement whereby a worker must be a member of the union as a condition of continued employment. Variations of the closed shop principle will be discussed further on.

From the viewpoint of those who consider the policy of the Administration definitely and partisanly pro-labor the present situation in the coal industry, in which a strike has been called to enforce a closed shop demand, is but the culmination of that policy. Others view such crises as inevitable in any consistent and sustained attempt to redress labor grievances piled up by many years of repressive tactics on the part of employers before the national government undertook with a firm hand to enforce the right of collective bargaining. Among the latter are some who nevertheless are very apprehensive lest labor nullify honest and important gains through a misuse of power.

It is important that the merits of a particular controversy shall not be obscured by popular concern, how-

ever warranted, over the consequences of a strike. The coal-mine situation will therefore be examined in the succeeding article. Here we are considering the nature and significance of the closed shop policy and its relation to other trade union practices may well be considered.

Why the Closed Shop Policy

William H. Davis, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, who in this instance voted with the majority against sanctioning the application of the closed shop provision in the Appalachian Agreement to the captive mines ("captive" because owned by the companies which absorb their product) has not been hostile to the closed shop in principle. Writing in the *Survey Graphic* (New York) for November, he says: "A closed shop is an appropriate arrangement in some circumstances, as is evidenced in this country, for example, by experience with the Allied Printing Trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Glass Workers, the Brewery Workers, and so on. This does not mean that it is universally appropriate, or that it is a proper substitute for self-organization by normal growth.

"Where a union, even though it has attained a majority membership and been certified as the collective bargaining agent, has still to attain maturity—and neither the supervisory forces of management, nor the officers and members of the union have attained that stability that follows adolescence—then some other form of agreement which will give to the union the assurance of the good will of management, and to the supervisory forces definite instructions that management is not really opposed to self-organization of the employees, may, in my opinion, be much more appropriate than any agreement which makes employment depend on union membership."

Mr. Davis is apparently using the term "closed shop," as we use it here, to characterize a shop in which membership in the union is a condition of continued employment.

The defense offered of the closed shop policy is based on the assumption that the union undertakes to improve standards in the industry and the person who fails to

¹ See issues of INFORMATION SERVICE for September 6 and 13, entitled "Labor and the Law."

join gets his share of the benefits without paying dues. He is therefore considered a parasite. How the citizen looks upon him depends in large part on how that particular citizen regards the union itself. If he takes the conservative employer's view that the union, however well intentioned, is an unstabilizing force in industry any pressure used to increase its membership will look like anti-social activity. If, on the other hand, the union is regarded as on the whole beneficent, the worker who insists on remaining outside while at the same time he is paid on a scale negotiated by the union looks a bit anti-social himself. Pressure upon him to join will in that case seem, at the worst, an unfortunate but unavoidable accompaniment of labor's struggle.

At the same time the fact that labor leaders are by no means a unit on this issue calls for sober thought. It calls attention to two different views of the matter within the ranks of organized labor. That labor in general regards "union shop conditions," which exclude non-union workers, as normal may be taken for granted. Some labor leaders would agree, however, with Chairman Davis that this kind of situation can be regarded as normal only when a sufficiently long experience of cooperation under contractual agreement has established mutual confidence and proved the competence of labor to maintain a high-grade labor regime in a plant. Mr. George Q. Lynch, who voted with the majority of the National Defense Mediation Board in this case has some strong views on this subject. In a current editorial in the journal published by his own union he writes as follows:

"We accept the principle of the 'closed shop' only when voluntarily negotiated by our union and the employer. And also if such closed shop is not destructive of the rights of some other recognized group of workers."²

Types of Closed Shop Agreements

Two years ago it was officially reported that more than half the 7,000 trade union agreements in force and on file with the Bureau of Labor Statistics contained provisions requiring that all employees be members of the union; also that about three million of the eight million organized workers were employed under closed-shop conditions.³ Large numbers of workers—railway employees, for example—have obtained approximately a closed shop without any agreement to that effect.

Closed shop agreements, as already noted, make employment possible only on condition that the prospective employee has joined or will join the union. When such contracts are first entered into, however, a reasonable time may be allowed for the signing up of the employees who are not members of the union. For the most part, though not always, the union alone determines who is in good standing in the organization.

The most common procedure in hiring under these contracts is the placing of an order by the employer with the union office for the number of men desired. The union fills the order. Commonly the employer is given a choice from a number of persons. Also, a trial period is common, during which the employer can hire another worker.

Again the employer may be allowed to engage any union member he likes; or he may hire a non-union member, who, however, must join the union. The principle of free choice by the employer among union members

lessens the danger of possible favoritism or even corruption in union practice. In view of the fact that the unions are often severely criticized for the character of their membership, it should be noted that the employer may actually influence the personnel level by helping to recruit competent and reliable workers.

One modification of the closed-shop principle is the unionization of the job rather than the worker. It is understood that a given job is always held by a union member. The plan may approximate closed-shop conditions by the addition of provisions for preference to union members in respect to promotion or lay-off.

An adaptation of the closed-shop principle which is really a departure from it, is the "maintenance of membership" arrangement, which freezes the existing membership situation, protecting the union against losses. That is to say, if a worker loses his union status he is discharged. Also if an employee voluntarily joins and afterward loses his union status, he is discharged. No limitation is placed on the employer in respect to hiring new employees. This is the principle invoked by the National Defense Mediation Board in the Kearny case.⁴ Preference may or may not be given to union men in hiring, promotion or lay-off.

The Preferential Shop

The preferential shop is not a closed shop—at least not technically—since no other obligation rests on the employer under the agreement than to give the kinds of preference noted above to union members. So long as the union can furnish workers within a specified time limit only union members are hired. Otherwise the employer is free to hire others. Such new employees are not required to join. In practice, where the union is strong and its membership competent the result is likely to be an approximation to a closed shop without the element of compulsion. Preferential shop agreements are by no means so common as closed-shop agreements.

The Check-Off

The checking off of union dues by the employer when filling the pay envelope is not confined to the mine workers, nor to CIO unions. It is one method used to keep the closed shop closed. It belongs in the category of disciplinary measures which the employer helps to enforce. But leaving aside the closed shop principle itself—the check-off, it is argued, may be viewed in the same light as the checking off of amounts due the employer for obligations legitimately incurred by the worker. (This has no reference to enforced purchases from company stores at higher-than-market prices, an evil which in the past contributed much to labor unrest.) If the employer is justified in withholding from the pay envelope amounts rightly due him it may be argued that the collection of union dues in the same way is not *in itself* an evil.

When taken in conjunction with a closed shop enforced by sheer weight of labor strength the check-off aggravates the sense of unfairness with which employers, and even disinterested persons, react. A well-known leader in the United Mine Workers visited the office of this Department some years ago and expressed himself very strongly on this matter. He wished, he said, that the whole system could be done away with and that the union were obliged to win its membership over and over again through the voluntary payment of dues.

² *Pattern Makers Journal*, Washington, D. C., November, 1941.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1939. p. 830 ff.

⁴ See *INFORMATION SERVICE* for September 13, 1941.

In Mr. Lynch's editorial in the *Pattern Makers Journal*, previously quoted, he had this to say about the check-off: "We do not subscribe to the 'check off' and not a single pattern maker's agreement contains a provision for a 'check off' of dues by an employer. We hold that a worker's pay envelope is the property of the man or woman who earned its contents. It should not be subject to arbitrary subtractions for union dues or assessments. Only the federal government and the proper agencies of the several states should be vested with the power to impose taxes and make deductions from earnings."

Is There a Governing Ethical Principle?

All discussion of these labor union practices brings us back to the question of the place of labor unionism in the industrial system. We have referred previously to the conviction recorded by religious bodies, including the Federal Council, that membership in labor unions may be regarded as fulfilling a moral requirement. It must be noted, of course, that this view of the matter can be maintained only when the policy of the union in question is such that a person can conscientiously belong to it. That the claim of a union upon the loyalty of its members is sometimes vitiated by dishonest or antisocial practices is a familiar fact currently documented by unsavory revelations in court proceedings. A recent editorial in a labor paper points out the seriousness of such practices:

"The general staff of labor has pledged that there will be cooperation, that there won't be stoppages except in last resort cases—that no rights will be surrendered, but that there will be performance of duty on the job and that the machinery of war will be kept rolling.

"Why should anyone be kidded? There have been too many violations of those fine pledges.

"There have been too many snap actions, in which the machinery of settlement was given no chance. There have been too many stoppages."⁵

But barring cases where labor practices are distinctly below the level set by the conduct of employers or of the general public, a principle emerges which has frequently been advocated by students of modern society: the principle of functional organization and collective responsibility within all occupational groups. In terms of Christian ethics it is the principle of "community" within a group bound together by "vocation," in which there are common duties and similar conditions of work. Many teachers of Christian ethics see in trade unionism, at its best, an application of this functional ethical principle.

Chairman Davis of the National Defense Mediation Board said in the article quoted above, "You find union agreements, any number of them, in which it is agreed that there shall be posted on the bulletin board of every plant in the industry, a notice to the effect that the employer hopes that all of the employes will join and remain good members of the union with which the company has a contract. And the union in turn hopes that the company and all its fellow companies in the industry will belong to the same association."

On this view the closed shop question seems to resolve itself into something like this: Can the competent and faithful discharge of a union's responsibility to industry and to the community be furthered by a contractual arrangement under which the union accepts entire re-

sponsibility for certifying the workers in a given establishment? Some will answer, yes; some, no. But both employers and workers will be found in each group.

The Wagner Act and the Closed Shop

The National Labor Relations Act, commonly known as the Wagner Act, under which since it was upheld by the Supreme Court labor has achieved a status for bargaining purposes unprecedented in our history, does not legislate concerning the closed shop. As Chairman Davis has said, Congress left the closed shop just where it found it. It expressly provided that the closed shop is not prohibited by the Act. The relevant words are these: "Provided, That nothing in this Act . . . shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization (not established, maintained, or assisted by any action defined in this Act as an unfair labor practice) to require as a condition of employment membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employes as provided in section 9 (a), in the appropriate collective bargaining unit covered by such agreement when made."

On the other hand, the Act has implications for the closed shop which it is important to note. The main purpose of the Wagner Act was to overcome once for all the effectual opposition of employers to the recognition of labor unions when the workers desire them and to organization activities among their employes. Section I of the Act contains this paragraph: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection." This purpose has been criticized and is still criticized by many, but unless it is understood as a matter of declared public policy, labor relations are likely to be entirely misconceived.

The closed shop has been one of labor's methods of attaining union security in the plant. It is a method of preventing the entering of an "open-shop" wedge by the employer to undermine union strength. It has been a reaction to a vigorous and long-sustained anti-union policy. It means primarily that labor has not felt secure so long as even a small minority of workers in a plant remained outside the union. The Wagner Act attempts to remove the primary obstacle to unionization against which the closed shop is directed. It establishes majority representation within the industry by certifying as sole bargaining agent the body of workers which casts the heaviest vote in the election of representatives. This means that so long as a labor union has a clear majority of the workers in any industrial unit, as defined by the National Labor Relations Board, it can speak for the whole unit. Hence, to the extent that the application of the Wagner Act is not resisted by employers there is much less urgency from the union's point of view in maintaining a grip on the industry through rigid application of a union shop principle.

There is some ground therefore for the view that the insistence of labor on the union shop principle is due in no small part to fear that the Wagner Act may be revised or that its operation will be effectually resisted by

⁵ From the *Trade Union News* of Philadelphia, official publication of the Central Labor Union (A. F. L.) of that city, reprinted in *World Telegram*.

employers. It is perhaps natural for labor to fear that under the influence of a defense psychology the mere urgency of production may overbalance public concern for the unimpeded right of labor organization. Whether the present activities of labor groups on behalf of the union shop principle may actually have the effect of weakening the legal safeguards already set up rather than of strengthening them is, of course, another question.

The Issue in the Coal Strike

The one thing that the public seems to understand about the strike in the captive mines is that the United Mine Workers are demanding the closed shop. Many relevant matters are apparently little understood. Some of these need to be cleared up.

1. No new demand is being made on the industry as a whole. The closed shop—in this case technically a “union” shop, in which non-union men may be hired but must join the union—is now in force in 90 per cent of the industry. The captive mines, which constitute that portion of the industry which is owned by the companies which absorb the product and which, in turn, have a powerful influence on labor policy throughout the nation, are not under contract with the union, but 95 per cent of their employees are members of the union.

2. The issue is not whether the government shall enforce the closed shop in the coal-mining industry or any part of it. This impression has become current but is erroneous. The National Defense Mediation Board undertook an assignment to consider the case and recommend a basis of settlement which was not to be binding on either party. That is to say, rejection by either the companies or the union might still issue in a strike. The Mediation Board had previously made an award in the shipbuilding industry in which the same kind of closed shop was included, yet it was not done as a “government fiat.” The Mediation Board was not set up as an arbitration tribunal. There are those who believe its usefulness in mediation is definitely hampered by undertaking an arbitration role, even though no power of enforcement inheres in it.

3. Whether or not the strike is a direct menace to the defense program depends on how soon the available reserves of coal would be so reduced as to threaten steel production. From the mineworkers’ point of view they are seeking to enforce a demand on the small fraction of the industry which has not hitherto complied with it. (Of every 200 mine workers in the United States only one is not a member of the union, says the National Defense Mediation Board.) If the union should be able to win a short strike the stoppage might conceivably not be detrimental to defense production. Existing coal reserves have been estimated to be adequate for perhaps a month; we are not in position to say anything positive on this point. In any case it cannot be fairly asserted that the strike is harmful to the defense program *directly and materially* until it is clear that coal for steel production is not being made available as needed to keep the plants operating. The effect of the strike *psychologically* is of course another matter.

4. The fact that the two A. F. of L. representatives on the Mediation Board voted with the employers’ and the public representatives can not be taken, on its face, to mean that a difference in general policy exists between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The struggle between the two organizations has been a complicating factor in

the labor situation throughout the nation from the beginning. It can not be asserted that hostility to the C. I. O. dictated the A. F. of L. representatives’ vote; but neither can it be said that the A. F. of L. is any less strongly committed to the “union” shop policy than the C. I. O.

5. The right of the United Mine Workers under the Appalachian Agreement to extend the strike to include some 330,000 miners not directly affected by the captive mine controversy is a matter of interpretation. The agreement reserves to the union “the right to call and maintain strikes throughout the entire area when necessary to preserve and maintain the integrity and competitive parity of this agreement.” The union’s position is that since the agreement binds it to give to no one employer more advantageous terms than to another, and since to make a concession to the captive mines would in effect be doing just that, a strike throughout the area to avoid such a concession would be a strike “to preserve and maintain the integrity and competitive character” of the existing Appalachian Agreement. The employers apparently reject this interpretation.

6. The idea that the Mediation Board’s finding in this case is a judgment, in principle, against the closed shop as now maintained in 90 per cent of the soft coal industry is entirely erroneous. The majority opinion contains this sentence: “If we were convinced by the arguments presented on behalf of the United Mine Workers that the further postponement, for the duration of the emergency, of their demand for the union shop in that 10 per cent of the industry involved in this dispute would seriously impair the security of the United Mine Workers or threaten its existence, we would not be prepared to recommend that the United Mine Workers should waive the union shop in these captive mines at this time, because in our opinion the recommendations of the National Defense Mediation Board should be made in the light of the principle that the emergency should not be used either to tear down or to artificially stimulate the normal growth of unionism in defense industries.”

Not only so, but the majority went on to say that they were “convinced that a 100 per cent organization voluntarily arrived at through negotiations by the United Mine Workers themselves will be very much more able to resist the stresses of any period of depression or any attack that may occur in the future, than if the efforts of the United Mine Workers were now buttressed by the aid of a government agency, or if the goal were achieved by interrupting defense production.”

If this means what it appears to mean, the Board actually commended to the miners pursuance of their efforts to win union-shop contracts from the operators by negotiation. What the Board refused to do was to recommend that the companies sign such agreements *now* covering the captive mines.

On this interpretation the dissenting C. I. O. members appear to have misinterpreted the opinion of the majority. For they said the Board “has now decided that henceforth, regardless of the merits of any case, labor unions must be denied the right of normal growth and legitimate aspirations, such as the union shop, and the traditional open shop policy of the antilabor employers must prevail.” On the contrary, the majority opinion, while withholding a recommendation which would support the United Mine Workers’ present *strategy* in relation to the captive mines, does not criticize their long-term policy with reference to the closed shop.

In one of the huge defense plants manufacturing airplane engines a whiskey bottle was found recently. Within two hours the plant police force had brought out the finger prints on the bottle and from plant personnel files located the offender and he had been discharged and expelled from the plant. That's what Uncle Sam thinks of liquor in and around industrial defense plants. At both the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have refused support for Senate Bill 100 which would forbid the sale of liquor near army camps.

The International Executive Committee of the UAW-CIO late in September passed a resolution condemning discrimination against Negro workers in industry and voted to notify all plant management covered by UAW-CIO contracts that further racial discriminatory practices would not be tolerated by the union. This labor union action is considerably in advance of what the churches are able to do.

Nightly from their parking lots they (roadside taverns) pour onto the highways a stream of drivers with perceptions, wits, and reactions dulled by alcohol. The tavern owners take a profit but not the responsibility for this operation. The tavern owners are now liable for damages caused by a customer's drinking. This is under the old dram shop act. The tavern owners should also be held responsible for drunken driving when an arrest is made without any traffic accident. Chief Justice John J. Sonstebj, Chicago Municipal Court. (from The Voice)

According to government statistics there are 39 Negro magazines and bulletins published in the United States. The 1940 report states that 55 Negro newspapers had a total circulation of 276,600. "Eighteen newspapers published in the Middle Atlantic states reported a combined circulation per issue of 311,700, or 24.4% of the total circulation reported by the 155 newspapers, and 40 newspapers published in the South Atlantic states made returns for a combined circulation per issue of 280,200, or 21.9% of the total circulation reported above," says the Negro Statistical Bulletin of the Department of Commerce.

War conditions are causing radical shifts in the income of various segments of American society, Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution and noted economist, told the American Finance Conference in Chicago on November 7. According to Moulton farmer incomes will rise about one-third this coming season, while city families depending upon fixed incomes and salaries will lose about 20% of their buying power because of higher prices and taxes.

According to the United Automobile Worker, quotas on automobile production for 1942 as fixed by OPM will cut production in some cases as high as 66%. General Motors (all lines), will be cut 55.6%. Chrysler will reduce production 56%, and Ford 54%. In terms of units, it means that Chevrolet will build in 1942 only 45,180 cars as against 104,079 in 1941. Quotas allowed depend upon ability to get necessary materials.

Military preparations are costly and not infrequently are accompanied by inexcusable waste and careless extravagance, as well as by fraud and graft. This is especially likely to be true where military preparations are carried out under forced draft. With billions to spend army and navy purchasing officers seem to lose all sense of proportion and purveyors who are honest in normal business relationships seem to regard the government as fair game for any sort of dishonest practice.

The following statements taken from correspondence of Congressman Gerald L. Landis of Ind. to the Martinsville Daily Reporter throw considerable light on extravagant war department spending.

"The cost of the World War camps and cantonments was \$215 per man. This was considered an outrageous waste at that time. The present cost of camps are: 427,113 men housed in tents at a cost of \$481 per man; 739,322 men housed in barracks at a cost of \$697 per man.

"Mosquito netting purchased: 40,000,000 yards, nearly enough to wrap around the earth at the equator. Cooks and bakers coats and trousers - \$1,525,000 worth. Nearly enough to equip every private in the army with a cook or baker uniform. Over 600,000,000 yards of cloth bought or on order. Enough to clothe every man, woman and child in the United States. Blankets: in the last year, in addition to blankets on hand and left over from the World War, the government has spent \$76,525,000 for blankets. This means about 12,000,000 blankets for an army of 1,500,000, or approximately eight blankets per soldier. \$1,880,000 for flags and bunting; 10,000,000 pairs of shoes for \$38,000,000; \$2,250,000 for aluminum pots, pans and pitchers. \$12,500,000 worth of gloves and mittens. In one day (September 5) the Quartermaster Corps bought 39,464,540 yards of khaki cotton twill uniform cloth at a contract price of \$23,334,474. This is enough material to make over 10,000,000 uniforms."

On Sunday, November 9, 1941, the Chicago Tribune published a story under a Washington date line reporting that the army has purchased 39,794,347 yards of shirting in the past year, nearly 15 million yards more than was purchased during the entire World War. During the World War the army purchased 44,500,000 yards of olive drab suiting, of which more than a third was on hand at the end of the war. Purchases to date during the present crisis amount to 59,500,000 yards. Purchases of overcoats, underwear, socks, etc., follow a similar pattern.

The question at once arises, do purchases on such a scale represent inexcusable extravagance and waste or do they indicate that the government has plans for an army much larger than anything now contemplated by the public? For sometime rumors have been floating around Washington that within 18 months we shall have an army of eight million men under arms. Medical associations are being quietly advised that many more doctors will be called into service. An army of the size being prepared for can mean only one thing - an expeditionary force.

KENTUCKY SMASHES BANK NIGHT

Vigorous action by Attorney General Hubert Meredith has dealt a smashing blow to the pernicious "bank night" fad which certain motion picture theatre operators have been using for several years as a "come-on" device to bring patrons into their theatres week after week, according to the Supreme Council, 33rd Bulletin. When a corporation operating a string of five theatres in Lexington undertook to introduce the bank night lottery the office of the Attorney General went into action and secured a court ruling outlawing the practice. It is reported that the defendants have admitted that the practice violates both the constitution and the statutes of the state and have indicated their intention to submit to the verdict without further appeal. Prior to initiating the action a study of the legal angles of the case covering several months was made by Assistant Attorney General Jesse K. Lewis, who was in immediate charge of the case. The Attorney General has indicated that in harmony with the results of this case action will be instituted against future violators anywhere in the state.

The "bank night" device was first started about five years ago and almost immediately became a craze. It was welcomed at first as a device for attracting people to the business sections, especially to the small community centers some distance removed from the big theatres downtown. It was not long however before business men found that the practice was hurtful to legitimate business. Others have opposed the practice from the beginning on moral grounds, pointing out that its appeal is made to persons in the small wage-earner group who are thus encouraged to spend money on movies that is needed for living expenses, that it promotes gambling among those who can least afford it, and that it is a poor substitute for legitimate business. The better class theatre operators have recognized for some time that "bank night" is an unwholesome method of promoting attendance, but many of them have been at the mercy of their competitors who have insisted upon continuing the practice. It is to be hoped that the Kentucky experiment will prove contagious.

PROTESTS LIQUOR SALES AT D.C. SYMPHONY CONCERTS

Protest has been made by the District of Columbia WCTU and the International Reform Federation over the sale of liquor at the concerts of the National Symphony Orchestra. The National Symphony Orchestra is a popular musical organization of the Capitol City. Its director is Hans Kindler, a well known musician, who is also connected with the musical faculty of the city schools. Its popular outdoor summer concerts in Riverside Stadium frequently presents famous concert singers and attracts thousands of music loving Washingtonians. The protest points out that there are 3000 licensed places in Washington where liquor can be secured by those who want it without having it flaunted before the eyes of thousands of young people who attend these concerts. It is not fair, it was stated "to use the magic names of celebrated conductors to promote attendance and imply their approval of imbibing liquors" at these concerts. The protest will be considered by the board of directors of the orchestra.

POLICE CHIEF APPEALS TO CHURCHES FOR JUVENILE AID

In an effort to promote closer cooperation between the churches and the juvenile aid division of the police department, Chief of Police Michael F. Morrissey, of the Indianapolis police force, invited a number of leading ministers and church workers of the city to his office for a conference. Chief Morrissey pointed out that many of the children who get into trouble and fall into the clutches of the police are from homes which have no church affiliation, and frequently lax home supervision is a contributing factor to delinquency.

Mrs. Richard Lieber, a voluntary worker in the division, asserted that crime costs the United States \$14,000,000 a year. She said, "There are 13,500 murders, 300,000 larcenies, 59,000 robberies annually. Statistics show that there is a crime committed in the United States every 22 seconds. 70% of them by youths ranging in age from 15 to 21. In fact, many of these young criminals are between 12 and 15.

"These lawbreakers, if they are mentally and physically fit, are largely the product of improper supervision during early childhood. Often after a brief period of happy marriage, certain forces such as impaired health, economic reverses, disappointment or discouragement break up the close ties of the home. In consequence, the parents are incapable of meeting many of the problems which arise in the rearing of children. Unhappy children may become serious juvenile delinquents, and later dangerous adult criminals."

The Indianapolis News gave vigorous editorial approval to the move of Chief Morrissey to enlist the churches in an effort to curb juvenile delinquency and pointing out the need for religious instruction among children.

C.O. CAMPS TO CONTINUE

The American Friends Service Committee, the Church of the Brethren Service Committee and the Mennonite Central Committee, after conferences with Selective Service Administration; have announced that they will continue operation of their Camps for Conscientious objectors for the full year 1942. This does not preclude the establishment of experimental government supported camps.

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